

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 SECTO 01079 220951Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----104356 220955Z /21
O 220840Z JAN 78
FM USDEL SECRETARY AIRCRAFT
TO THE WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTO 01079

NODIS/CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS)
SUBJECT: MEETINGS IN ATHENS, JANUARY 21

WHITE HOUSE FOR PRESIDENT AND DR. BRZEZINSKI

DEPARTMENT FOR THE ACTING SECRETARY AND TARNOFF

1. I HAD A VERY USEFULL AND INFORMATIVE MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS THIS AFTERNOON WHICH LASTED FOR A LITTLE OVER TWO HOURS AND MET WITH HIM AGAIN OVER DINNER FOR ALMOST TWO MORE HOURS. HE WAS WARM IN HIS EXPRESSIONS OF FRIENDSHIP FOR THE U. U.S. AND SPOKE TO ME FRANKLY AND WITH SINCERITY IN OUTLINING HIS VIEWS. WE COVERED THE WHOLE RANGE OF U.S.-GREEK BILATERAL RELATIONS AND THE ISSUES OF COMMON CONCERN TO US IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN -- CYPRUS AND GREEK-TURKISH DIFFERENCES IN THE AEGEAN. ALTHOUGH CARAMANLIS SAID NOTHING STARTLINGLY NEW, I GAINED A MUCH BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE GREEK POSITION ON THESE MATTERS AS A RESULT OF MY DISCUSSIONS WITH HIM AND HIS SENIOR ADVISORS.

2. CARAMANLIS SAID, AS HE HAS REPEATEDLY IN PUBLIC,
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THAT GREECE WILL RETURN TO FULL PARTICIPATION IN NATO AS SOON AS THE REASONS FOR ITS WITHDRAWAL ARE RESOLVED, I. E., THE CYPRUS PROBLEM IS SETTLED. IN THE MEANTIME, HE CONSIDERS IT IMPORTANT THAT THE CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS WITH NATO FOR A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP BE CONCLUDED QUICKLY. IN THIS CONNECTION HE ASKED THAT WE HELP TO BRING THIS ABOUT BY THISSUUMMER.

I TOLD HIM THAT I WOULD LOOK INTO IT WHEN I RETURNED TO WASHINGTON AND WOULD BE BACK IN TOUCH WITH HIS FOREIGN MINISTER.

3. CAAMANLIS CONSIDERS CYPRUS TO BE AT THE HEART OF GREECE'S PROBLEMS, NOT ONLY WITH NATO BUT ALSO OIN RELATIONS WITH TURKEY ACROSS THE BOARD. HE ARGUED THAT THE GREEK SIDE HAS MADE SOME BASIC CONCESSIONS TO MEET TURKISH DEMANDS FOR A SETTLEMENT BUT TURKEY HAS NOT RESPONDED IN GOOD FAITH NOR HAS THERE BEEN A VALID TURKISH INTERLOCUTOR. CARAMANLIS HAS RESERVATIONS ABOUT ECEVIT'S SINCERITY IN SEEKING A SOLUTION AND SERIOUSLY DOUBTS HE HAS THE POLITICAL STRENGTH DOMESTICALLY TO ACHIEVE ONE IN ANY CASE. I TOLD HIM ECEVIT IMPRESSED ON ME HE WANTED TO SETTLE CYPRUS AND WOULD MAKE SERIOUS PROPOSALS SHORTLY WITH RESPECT TO BOTH THE TERRITORIAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS. CARAMANLIS REPLIED HE HOPED THIS WAS TRUE BUT WAS SKEPTICAL AND WOULD WAIT AND SEE. AS FOR A SUMMIT METING, AS PROPOSED BY ECEVIT, HE SEES SERIOUS DANGERS UNLESS THERE IS ADEQUATE ADVANCE PREPARATION TO ENSURE THE POSSIBILITY OF SUCCESS AND I ADMITTED I COULD NOT QUARREL WITH HIM ON THIS POINT.

4. WE ALSO TALKED ABOUT OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WHICH HE CONSIDERS TO BE GOOD BUT WHICH COULD BE IMPROVED.
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HE EXPLAINED THAT FINALIZATION OF OUR DCA PRESENTS PROBLEMS BECAUSE IT IS LINKED TO THE TURKISH DCA IN VIEW OF THE AID ASPECTS OF BOTH AGREEMENTS. IF AID WERE TAKEN OUT THERE WOULD BE NO PROBLEM. IN ADDITION, HOWEVER, THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A SPECIAL GREEK RELATIONSHIP WITH NATO IS ALSO CONNECTED WITH THE DCA SINCE IT IS NEEDED TO ESTABLISH THE ESSENTIAL FRAMEWORK FOR OUR BASES AGREEMENT. WITHOUT A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP, THERE WOULD BE NO LEGITIMATE FRAMEWORK FOR THE BASES. I INDICATED TO HIM THE MATTER OF THE TURKISH DCA WOULD BE RAISED IN THE CONGRESS IN THE NOT TOO DISTANT FUTURE.

5. I TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO INFORM THE PRIME MINISTER WE WERE PREPARED TO MOVE AHEAD QUICKLY WITH THE APPOINTMENT OF A NEW AMBASSADOR AND HE INDICATED HIS AGREEMENT TO BOB MCCLOSKEY. I WILL BE FOLLOWING UP ON THIS WHEN I RETURN.

6. OUR DISCUSSION AT DINNER WAS IN GOOD PART A PHILOSOPHICAL ONE DURING WHICH CARAMANLIS EXPRESSED PESSIMISM WITH RESPECT TO THE SITUATION IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND IN THE DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES IN

GENERAL. HE IS CLEARLY DEDICATED TO A UNITED EUROPE
IN CLOSE ASSOCIATION WITH THE U.S. I THINK HE IS A
TRUE FRIEND WHOM WE SHOULD SUPPORT IN HIS EFFORTS
TO FIND PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS TO HIS COUNTRY'S DIFFERENCES
WITH TURKEY AND IN HIS DETERMINATION TO HELP BUILD A SOLID AND
STABLE DEMOCRATIC REGIME IN GREECE.
VANCE

SECRET

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SECTO, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, MEMBERSHIP, MEETING REPORTS, CAT-C, CHEROKEE 01/22/78
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 22 jan 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978SECTO01079
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: OA
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: P850036-2393
Format: TEL
From: USDEL SECRETARY AIRCRAFT SECRETARY AIRCRAFT
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780136/aaaabehb.tel
Line Count: 123
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 8a0825e1-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3733825
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MEETINGS IN ATHENS, JANUARY 21
TAGS: PBOR, PORG, US, CY, GR, TU, NATO
To: STATE WHITE HOUSE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/8a0825e1-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014